Vol. III. Numb. 10.

The EXAMINER.

From Monday *December* 22, to Friday *December* 26, 1712.

——— *Facinus quos inquinat, Æquat.* Lucan.

THE Conduct of the *Whigs*, for ſome Months paſt, has been very ſurprizing and unaccountable. In this Opinion of them, I ſpeak the Judgment of others, and not my own Prejudices: Some of their beſt Friends will not ſtick to own as much; but they, it ſeems, are not in the Secret. What their ableſt Caſuiſts have lately determined concerning the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, is not ſufficient to Solve their preſent Behaviour towards *Her Majeſty*. I know not whether it be Her Family, Her Prerogative, or Her Goodneſs, that provokes them to be ſo extravagantly Inſolent. It is certain that neither *Her* Perſon, which even ſome of their Mitred Rabbies have ventured to pronounce *Sacred*, nor the Memory of former Favours, which they who do not deſerve are moſt ready to forget; nor yet *Her* Piety and exemplary Tenderneſs towards her People and her Allies, *Her* Conſtancy, Vigilance and indefatigable Care of the Intereſts and Repoſe of *Europe*, *Her* Clemency and Averſion to accept that *mighty Forfeit* which the Laws might give her, *Her* cordial Concern for our unhappy Diviſions and affectionate Deſire to compoſe them, can prevail upon this abandoned Crew, to gratify ſo good a QUEEN in that which is the reaſonable Expectation of every Monarch governing by Law, and the indiſpenſable Duty of every honeſt Subject, to Honour and Obey thoſe whom She is pleaſed to ſet over us, and to acquieſce in ſuch wiſe Meaſures as She is now purſuing, for the Safety and Welfare of Her People. But inſtead of this, how vaſtly different is their Comportment from what it ought to be? They are daily alarming *Her* Subjects with Fears and Jealouſies; They repreſent *Her* as in her Decline, and fallen from her former Glory; They blacken the Adminiſtration, and deſcribe *Her* Reign as Cloudy and Overcaſt. If She confers a Title, beſtows a Favour, or calls for the Service of ſome of her Beſt and moſt Loyal Subjects, the unhappy Favourite is from that Moment expoſed to all their Clamour and Malice. If Her Juſtice, which like that of Heaven purſues none but Reprobates, exerts it ſelf for the Good of the Publick, they all join to Protect and Reſcue the guilty Miſcreant, ſanctify his Crimes, and extol the Merit of his Sufferings. If the Crown is Inſulted by any Foreign State, immediately they ſtrike up a League with it; and at the ſame time declare War againſt all thoſe who acquit themſelves like honeſt and grateful Allies to *Her Majeſty*. In ſhort, they act as if the Throne were *vacant*, and They, during the *Interregnum*, left to do whatever ſeemed Good in their own Eyes. The Avarice and Ambition of a few Petty Tyrants, whom the Nation was unable to Support in their Extravagances any longer, theſe Men would put in the Ballance againſt the Honour, the Safety and the Repoſe of that *Sacred Life*, whoſe Continuation and Welfare muſt outweigh a Million of ſuch Heroes, tho' their Vaſſals, in a *Burleſque* way, miſcall them, as ſome Sportsmen do their Spaniels, by the Names of *Cæſar*, *Pompey* and *Ariſtides*.

This is no imaginary State of the Caſe; a Man muſt be blind to the Appearances of things, deaf to the Clamours of every Day, as well as (what he ought to be) a Stranger to the Memoirs of the Faction, not to own this Repreſentation of Affairs to be ſtrict Fact. They ſeem, by all they ſay and do, to have Tranſerr'd not only their Hopes, but even their Allegiance *ſome-where elſe*, where I am ſure *One* is not yet, and I have reaſon to believe the *Other* never will be acceptable. They loudly exclaim againſt a truly *Britiſh Parliament*, and have diſſolved it a thouſand times over in their Wiſhes and Imaginations. *Guy Faux* or *Cromwell* had not a more dexterous Way of *Purging* the *Two Houſes*: Only the *Rump*, the *Minority*, are with them the true Repreſentatives of the People.

Theſe Abſurdities, for ſome time, put me to a ſtand; as the Cauſe ought always to be a Degree of Excellence above the Effect, I could not account for any Thing ſo very ſtrange, but by ſomething if poſſible more ſurprizing. I was tempted to think, that the *Britiſh* Soil had teem'd with a Race of Monſters, Bloody and Unnatural; or that we were returning to our firſt Original, and the *Picts* and old Savages reviv'd, who heretofore Infeſted this Iſland. But I freely own my Miſtake; and am at length convinc'd, that all theſe State-Prodigies may, without any great Difficulty, be accounted for, out of ſome modern Schemes of Government which have lately troubled the Publick. I find theſe People look upon themſelves as no longer under a *Britiſh Monarchy*, where they were Perſecuted, Oppreſs'd, and under a Yoke; for ſo the loſs of Favour, and the want of a free Exerciſe of Power, may be juſtly called by thoſe whoſe Intereſt is their Religion. For theſe Reaſons they have made a Seceſſion, ſeparated and withdrawn themſelves, which they take to be but a modeſt Way of Proceeding upon the Principle of *Reſiſtance*; and, by vertue of the *Inherent Right*, have erected an *Utopia* of their own, an *Imperium in Impero*, ſuch as the *Jews* enjoy'd, apart from the *Romans*, tho' by a fatal Neceſſity they were ſubject to them. By which Parallel I do not intend to give them the ſame Right, tho' I might perhaps be brought to allow them the ſame reigning Vices, with that Stubborn and Rebellious People. It ſeems then we are to treat them for the future as a *Neighbouring State*; and ſince their Government is left to their own Choice, we may eaſily imagine into what Model they have thrown it. *Equality* is their firſt Principle, and the Foundation of their *Democracy*: But abſolute Power being to be lodg'd ſomewhere, even in Republicks as well as Monarchies, they have their *Junta*, with whom is the *laſt Reſort*; under which are other Subordinate Aſſemblies and Judicatories. Their *Parliament* is indeed by ſome malicious *Tories* eſteem'd to be no other than a mere private *Club*; but 'tis eaſie to account for the Miſrepreſentations of an Enemy. Their State-Officers and other Miniſters of Juſtice are kept up in their full Luſtre and Dignity; and by ſome late Inſtances we may be aſſured, *that they bear not the Sword in vain*. A very eminent Convert, who has lately left them and turn'd *Britain*, ſhew'd me their *Civil Liſt*; and upon the Compariſon I cannot but obſerve, that ſome who are upon the *Whig Eſtabliſhment* are alſo upon that of *Great Britain*, at leaſt I find their Names there; which way of engroſſing Places, I ſhall take a proper time to complain of, in ſome of my future Remonſtrances.

Upon a Survey of this Scheme, their Meaſures will not appear ſo very unaccountable. What if the *Britiſh* Parliament are peaceably inclin'd? Yet if the *Rump* are for prolonging the War, the *Whigs* muſt not lay down their Arms. Suppoſe the *Britiſh* Council are for permitting a good Number of honeſt Gentlemen to meet at *Weſtminſter*, the *Whigs* perhaps may at the very ſame time be Treating in the Country, and ſecuring their Elections. A *Britiſh* Plenipotentiary may Treat for a laſting Peace; a *Whig* Plenipotentiary for an everlaſting War; and both keep cloſe to their Inſtructions. All Nations have not the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms. So a *Britiſh* Secretary may call that a *Plot*, which between State and State is no more than an *Act of Hoſtility*. I have heard of a *Preſident*, who drew up a Treaty for the Encouragement of Foreign Invaſions; but what's all this to *Great Britain*, where ſuch a Proceeding might be Capital? And the ſame Variety prevails in Religion. The Church of *England* has her *Articles*, *Homilies* and *Canons*; the *Romiſh*, *Genevan* and *Whig Church* have theirs: What Right have they to Uſurp upon us? Why ſhould a *Whig Biſhop*, who has a Church of his own, meddle with the Revenues of ours; or undertake to alter

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our *Creeds*, *Articles* and *Ceremonies*, or to Preach up *Reserves*, *Resistance*, and the Venial Sins of *Schism* and *Heresie*; or to call our Laity to an Account, as if they were under their Jurisdiction? *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Erastus* and *Socinus* were great Men, no doubt; but I question if they ever wore Lawn, or claim'd the Priviledge of *British* Peerage.

This then being the State of the Case, I think it highly reasonable, in order to come to a good Understanding with this *young Republick*, to put them in mind of some Fundamentals, necessary for their Support and Well-being; which I humbly take leave to lay before them at this time, especially, when, as I am informed, they are about to proceed to the annual Choice of all their great Officers of State; under whose Leading and Conduct they intend to form their Measures for the ensuing Year. What I would propose has a particular Eye to this grand Affair, and is offer'd to them in the way of *Advice* only, without presuming to call in question their known Claim of Right, by which the Original of all Government is vested in themselves.

In their Election of a *General*, I verily believe they will have little Regard to One, who never was on their Side till they Brib'd him to it by Augmenting his Pay, and fed him every Year with some new Perquisite; who upon the withdrawing of these strong Motives, has fairly Abdicated and Deserted his Friends, when they have most Occasion for his Conduct, and are almost ready to Surrender: To whose Supineness it must be imputed, that *Dunkirk* was suffer'd to be taken under his Nose, without any Attempt for the Relief of that Important Place.

If a *Viceroy* happens to be proposed to them, who throughly understands the Method of setting up a Province to Auction, and passes his Accounts in the strictest manner, submitting them to the Tryal of the *Fire Ordeal*; whose Tyranny and Avarice are alike Boundless, his Power without any Superior but Providence, a Being he has not yet acknowledg'd; and who, like the *Scape-Goat* of old, can only serve to Transport the Sins of a whole Nation into a strange Country; I think the Commonwealth ought not to be over-hasty in Declaring for him, lest he should be the first to expose their Judgment, and, like one of the Popes, immediately after his Accession, makes his Footman *Prime Minister*.

Whether it may be proper to commit the *Keeping* of the *Publick Conscience* to such a *Chancellor*, who has in that way at least no Concerns of his own to divert him from the Service of his Country, is not, I take it, the only Consideration that ought to sway in Favour of the Old Candidate: For in this Case, I humbly presume, no small Regard ought to be had to such Certificate as shall be produc'd from the *Societies for Reformation of Manners*; unless the Person proposed modestly excuses himself, on account of *frequent Indisposition*.

A considerable Interest at *New-Market*, great Forecast and profound Knowledge in the *Best of the Lay*, constant Attendance at the *Groom-Porters*, a steddy Adherence to the *Main*, deep Reading in the *Cards*, and approved Conduct at a *Cock-Match*, that most exact Emblem of the late Glorious War, may perhaps plead strongly for Transmitting the *Treasurer*'s Staff in the right Line; but it will be an Objection of Weight, whether the admitting a numerous Gang of *New* Sharpers upon the *Civil List*, may not be a greater Expence to the Publick, than the bare Support of the *Old* ones? and whether it is reasonable the State should maintain Five hundred *Counts* in *One*?

He who stands for *President*, is, I own, at least has been, a Person of bright Parts, and could, I believe, recite *Sydney* and *Harrington* without Book; yet I would caution the People against him, because there is good Reason to believe, that out of a conscious Regard to his own Morals, and a servile Compliance with the Demands of some of the Clergy, he has given his Studies the Ecclesiastical Turn, and seems resolved, upon the first Vacancy, to degenerate into an Archbishop.

If the State has any occasion for a *Plenipotentiary*, I hope it will be requir'd as a Qualification for this Place, that the Person in Election for it may understand *Dutch* as well as *Latin*; and that he be not allow'd as capable, because he has read *Machiaval*, if it appears he only consulted the *Text*, without meddling with the much more learned *Notes* of the Accurate and most Excellent *Heinsius*. However, if he be not fit to enter the *Townhouse* of *Utrecht*, he may at least be admitted into the *University*.

I am aware, that the Candidate for *Principal Secretary* will have a formidable Party on his Side: The Memory of his Ancestors, and those rare Qualities that shine forth in him, and which always accompany a fervent invincible Zeal for the Cause, must render him considerable; nor will his known Indolence and good-natur'd Inadvertency make him less belov'd and agreeable; in which he excels to such a degeee, that he seldom enquires further than the Outside of a Man, and the Title-Page of a Book. On the other hand, the Selling of One's Country for a Wager, and a sowre Rusticity towards those from whom he derives his Power, which looks at least like the disguise of Honesty, are ballancing Faults, and make a very great Draw-back on his Character. After all, I believe this Matter may with great Ease be adjusted; and if some regard be had to the *other* and *better Half* of this prodigious States-man, there will be no occasion for removing the Seals out of so illustrious a Family.

As to the Populace, whenever they shall think fit to get together, I believe they may entertain very favourable Thoughts of that *Tall Orator*, who was so unhappily cut short some time ago. He indeed may litterally be said *To fill the Chair*. This Promotion however may be deferr'd, till it shall be found to be good Philosophy for one *vacuum* to fill another.

After these Things are settled, so soon as I hear they intend to go upon the Choice of their *She-Officers* and *Ministers*, I shall with the same candid Freedom continue to Caution and Advise them in that critical Juncture. At present, I can only say, That as to the Place of *First Lady of the Commonwealth*, I am not so stubbornly devoted to *Her Grace*'s Interest, but that I may fall in with the publick Voice, which declares entirely for another more celebrated *Heroine*; because, as the Party give out, she sells *Commissions* so very cheap, that she is also obliged to sell *Coffee* at the same time, and so make good her Losses one way by her Gain another.

But without a Banter, in a Concern of so much Weight as is the Safety and Happiness of a People, if for the Sins of the *Whigs*, when they have exerted themselves to the utmost, and made the last Efforts for Life and Liberty, these Men should at length prevail, and in spite of the few Wise and Moderate of their Community, keep fast hold of the Reins, and soon after mount into the Saddle; they know the *Dernier Resort*, *Resistance* and the *Deposing Doctrine* must be revived and put in Practice. Shall a Sett of routed Officers lead on a victorious People? 'Tis not the goodness of a Cause, but the Success, that makes a Politician in such a State: They who would not have been Innocent tho' they had been Victorious, will be much more guilty now they are fallen. And do we think the honest *Spartans* or *Athenians* would ever have suffer'd the same Heads to appear again at an Election, unless upon a Pole? Shall the *Tories* boast of the Numbers of their Heroes, and upon every Vacancy, express their Confusion and Perplexity in the Choice of Merit? Must the *Whigs* dance after the same Leaders still, and be haunted up and down with those unlucky Faces, which bode nothing but Mischief, and have been so long out of Fashion? 'Tis not for a Commonwealth in its Infancy to support it self by such Managers, whose Ill-concerted Projects reduced them to the Necessity of a Revolt. But is there no room for Accommodation? Will no Terms of Reconcilement be accepted? When *Jack Falstaff* was only under an Apprehension of being deserted by his Comrades, he forms a very honest Resolution; *An it were not a good Deed now to turn True-man and Peach these Rogues*, which our *Modern Padders* would do well to consider. This they may depend on, that their Leaders would gladly accept the same Offer which is now made to them; but their Case is the same with that of the *Physician* and *Gentleman-Usher* in the *Rehearsal*; *If their Old Masters turn them out, no Body else will take them.*

*** *This* PAPER *will come out every* Monday *and* Friday.

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